

The future of the Australian
Commonwealth: A province
or a nation?

The establishment of the Com-
monwealth of Australia has been
repeatedly described as the
advent of a new nation. But
the use of the word nation in
connection with that event
is either metaleptical, or has
a prospective reference to a
future consummation of the
work which the Australian
people ~~and the Imperial Parliament~~
~~of the British Empire~~ have so far jointly
~~performed under the sovereignty of the~~
~~Imperial Parliament of the~~
~~British Empire~~, ^{performed} in uniting
the inhabitants of the Australian
continent and the island of
Tasmania in one political
organization of the federal
type. ~~If the word nation is~~

That work has been accomplished under a continuance of the sovereignty of the Imperial Parliament of the British Empire over the Territory comprised in the Commonwealth; and if the word nation is used in a limited sense to designate an organized community in occupation of a defined territory, ~~without any reference to its political status, but with special reference to its ethnic origin and characteristics~~ and in possession of large powers of local autonomy, but without ~~any~~ reference to the location of the sovereign power from which all political authority exercisable in the community primarily proceeds, then undoubtedly a distinct nation may exist in a state of subjection or subordination to an external sovereignty. But the inhabitants of

a province or appendage of an empire are not transformed into a distinct nation, in the full and perfect meaning of the word, when they are invested by the sovereign power of that empire with a large measure of autonomy in regard to all their local affairs and interests, but remain subject to the paramount legislative and executive and judicial authority of the sovereignty which has conferred that measure of autonomy upon them..

* ~~The Commonwealth of Australia~~, like the Dominion of Canada, remains politically a portion of the comprehensive British nation as fully as each separate State of the Commonwealth was a portion of that nation before the Commonwealth was established. * As referring to ethnic

+ Sometimes the word nation is used
with an exclusively ethnic reference, and if

characteristics and to past historical relations and surviving peculiarities and sentiments evolved in a long period of previous political separation, it may be perfectly permissible to speak of the English, the Scottish and the Irish nations; but today the inhabitants of England, Scotland and Ireland are in the matter of political organisation component portions of the one consolidated nation of which the ^{inhabitants of the} Commonwealth of Australia and the ^{inhabitants of the} Dominion of ~~Canada~~ are also portions. * * * of the inhabitants of the Australian Commonwealth were genealogically a distinct people from the inhabitants of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the union of them in one political organisation with such large

autonomous powers as those which they possess under the Constitution of the Commonwealth might be correctly described as the creation of an appendant or subordinate nation within the British Empire. But in the absence of any genealogically and historically distinctive origin, the only foundation of a separate nationality in the full sense of the word is political; and from the strictly political point of view separate nationality does not exist, in accordance with the proper use of the word, without separate sovereignty.

In the past history of the world separate sovereignties have invariably accompanied the formation of heterolingual and

genealogically distinct communities in the occupation of separate and definite territories under separate political organizations. In many instances several homolingual communities of the same genealogical origin and occupying contiguous territories have become fused and amalgamated into one community under the same sovereignty. But at various times there have been a number of homolingual communities of the same genealogical origin inhabiting contiguous but distinct ~~for~~ territories which have continued to exist contemporaneously under separate sovereignties, as in the cases of the several sovereign communities of ancient Greece and the ^{Spanish} South American

Republics of the present day.

In all such cases the designation of such communities as so many distinct nations has a purely political meaning, and refers solely to the fact that each of them is in possession of complete and perfect autonomy under a separate and internal sovereignty; because every other foundation of a separate nationality in the nature of a difference of ethnic origin ^{and} ~~or~~ language is absent.

The forces which produce separate sovereignties in separate consanguineous and homolingual communities are clearly distinguishable in character and influence under the separate descriptions of geographical, historical and political, including under

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the terms historical and political all those various forces which by virtue of their universal and continuous operation in all human societies ~~may be~~ ~~are~~ are comprehended in the wider and more basis designation of sociological. Probably the most pregnant and suggestive conclusion with respect to the composite nature of man and the history of the human race which sociological investigations have placed in the possession of the student of political problems today is the fact that the human person, that is the rational being who is capable of directing his conduct by a present foresight and calculation of future events and upon a basis of moral distinctions, is the

product of the social conditions and institutions of the previous generations of progenitors through whom his ancestry extends. The investigations of the students of sociology have also demonstrated that the character of ~~the~~ political institutions ~~generally~~ is always determined by the social conditions and factors of the community in which they exist, including among those conditions and factors the industries ^{avocations} and economical ^{forces} ~~power~~ of the community and the mental capacities and acquirements of the majority of its members, and the ethical conceptions and sentiments that predominate among them and direct their conduct. These several elements in the

social conditions and forces of a community reciprocally operate upon one another, and their total activity and product are largely affected by the total physical environment of the community. The geographical location of a community and the physical character and resources of its territory largely determine its industrial and economical career; and the same factors contribute largely to the evolution of the emotional and esthetic characteristics of the members of the community. But, concomitantly with the influences of different physical environments upon men, the perpetual and prepotent activity of the

forces of the universe in the production of varieties of type and unit in every plane of existence evolves distinctive characteristics in every separately organised community which determines for itself the character of its social and political institutions. This perpetual and prepotent activity of the forces of the universe in the production of interminable varieties commences in the realm of inorganic existence and increases in the extent and in the multiplicity of its manifestations with its ascent into each successive plane of organic and sentient creation. ~~In re-~~
~~self referring to this perpetual~~
 process of differentiation in the universe, Professor Shaler

in his book entitled "The Individual," says: "The progress of the development of the individual in the inorganic series is relatively slow, and the measure of differentiation attained but slight. We reasonably postulate essential indifference among the atoms of the same element: the variety there may be limited to that presented by the several species of matter. In the molecules it is probable that there is nearly if not quite the same uniformity of constitution, except it may be in those of the more complicated order, where we may fairly conjecture that some slight variations occur. In the protoplasmic unit, if such exists, there may be considerable individuality, for in that phase of matter the external world begins to bear in

on the organization, inducing variety in its features. As a whole, however, the realm of the atomic societies appears, so far as we can penetrate into the microscopic depths of Nature, to be near the foundations of the process of individualization. Yet, from what we know of the visible world, we are almost forced to imagine that the atoms in turn are compounded in stage below stage into the depths of the infinitely small. The larger aggregates of molecules, in the massive substances and crystals have a far more distinct individuality than we are compelled to postulate as occurring among the molecules. Thus, among the crystals, we find that each has its own shape, so differing from the others of its kind that no two

are exactly alike. It is evident that in this plane of organisation the structure feels the influence of environment and marks the results of the action of the external in its abundant individual variations, each indicating a reaction between the internal motives and those which came from without. In the largest individuals of the universe, the celestial spheres, excluding in the consideration the organic life they may bear, the individual processes at work in the inorganic realm attain the summit of their action. So far as we can judge from the few of these bodies we know about, each has its peculiar stamp, each acts and reacts on its surroundings in a measure different from all others. Thus, in

the case of our earth and its
 moon, we have two bodies dif-
 fering the one from the other
 in very many features. The
 one is a more mass of matter
 in a sense inert, and the other
 quick with a host of varied
 impulses. So, too, the Sun
 and Mars, the bodies next in
 the order of knowledge, are each
 separated in quality from
 all others we know. It is
 likely that a complete account
 of the hundred or so million
 Suns, and perhaps the thou-
 sand million planets within
 the range of vision, would
 show us no repetitions, but
 ordered individualities, each
 stamped with the mark of its
 varied relations to environment.
 x x x. Looking back over the
 series of events which have led

to the development of man, the most striking feature in the history is the progressive aggrandisement of individuals which form the stairway. At each step upward we find the creatures receiving more of the store which the ancestry has harvested from the environment. Even where it is least, this body of winnings from experience in action defies the imagination which seeks to measure it; but when we come to man it is magnified many thousandfold. Yet this store is not a common stock of impressions, a like gift for each of the units of the series; it is, on the contrary, so dealt out to them that each has a portion distinct from every other. In a word,

these inheritances are profoundly interactive among themselves, in such a manner that it is almost inconceivable that a like store becomes the property of any two individuals. (pp 934-17)

This perpetual effort of all the forces of the universe to produce varieties of type and unit in every sphere of existence does not cease at the threshold of the realm of social and political evolution; and consanguineous and homolingual populations located in separate groups within a continuous territory of uniform physical character and subject to the same supreme political control will frequently exhibit distinct peculiarities. And if two or more consanguineous

and homolingual communities are severally located in different physical environments, and if they severally constitute or belong to separate and independent political organisations, divergencies in their social, mental and physical characteristics will become more and more visible with the advent of each generation ~~whose successive progenitors have lived severally lived in the different physical and political environments~~ ^{same} in each of them. The Anglo American has developed characteristics which distinguish him clearly from his homolingual kinsman in Great Britain and Ireland; and distinctive characteristics have begun to appear in the Anglo Australian who is born

of Australian parentage ~~and~~
 upon Australian soil and
 lives all his life upon it,
 although in his case the
 co-operative factor of a separate
 political sovereignty is absent.
 The ~~populations~~ territory of the
 Commonwealth of Australia
 constitutes a total physical
 environment sufficiently di-
 verse from the physical en-
 vironments of the populations
 of Great Britain and Ireland
 and America to cooperate ef-
 fectually with the social forces
 perpetually at work in the
 Commonwealth, as a separate
 social segregation, to produce a
 distinct type of human life
 and character. And in successive
 generations born upon Australian
 soil and nurtured under
 Australian influences a

distinctively Australian type of human character will become more and more emphatic and will clearly distinguish the native Australian from his consanguineous and homolingual contemporaries in Europe and America.

But if this distinctively Australian type of human character is to come to a natural maturity and is to make its largest possible contribution to the multiform civilization of the world, it must find its full and perfect expression in a distinct national life which cannot be fully evolved without complete political autonomy and its attendant responsibilities and burdens. If the younger and less populous and less powerful of two con-

sanguineous and homolingual communities is subject to the sovereignty and ultimate political control of the older and larger and more powerful community, the social and political ideals and aims of the sovereign community will dominate and mould the social and political life of the dependant community to a degree which always make it, to a larger or less extent, a social and political imitation of the dominant community; and to that extent will obstruct the natural evolution of the social and political ideals and aims and institutions in which an independent nationality would find its natural and legitimate expression. Of the thirteen

~~original~~ States of the Anglo-
~~American~~ Republic had
 remained appendages of the
 British Empire until today,
 the distinctive Anglo American
 Nation which occupies the
 territory included in the
 forty two States which stretch
 from the Atlantic to the Pacific
 would never have existed.
 The population born in that
 territory, or in so much of it
 as would have been subject
 to the sovereignty of the Imperial
 Parliament of Great Britain
 and Ireland would doubtless
 have exhibited distinctive
 provincial characteristics
~~parallel to the distinctive~~
~~characteristics of the different~~
~~populations of different~~
~~portions of the~~ but the
 distinctive contributions

of the Anglo American Republic
 to the civilization of the world
 and the social and political
 institutions and ideals of hu-
 manity would not have
 been included in the records
 of human thought and
 achievement. So also if the
 Commonwealth of Australia
 remains for ever an appendage
 of the British Empire, it will
 never contribute to the history
 of the world the distinctive
 ideals and achievements which
 a distinctively Australian nation
 would add to the common stock
 of human experience and
 accomplishment; because so long
 as it remains an appendage of
 an external sovereignty it will
 never reach that maturity of national
 life which requires for its evolution
 a realization of national individuality
 and a consciousness

of capacities and opportunities which only complete autonomy can perfectly awaken.

But it must be clear to everyone who without any warping prepossession of his judgment ^{closely} examines the present relations of the Commonwealth of Australia to the Imperial Parliament and to the British Crown, that ~~they~~ cannot those relations continue after the population and power of the Commonwealth have increased to an extent which will make it fully able to resist without imperial assistance any attempt by a foreign enemy to invade its territory or to destroy its commerce. The large

increase in the future in the
 proportion of the population
 of the Commonwealth which
 will be born upon Australian
 soil will be attended by a
 large increment of a definite
 Australian sentiment in
 the Commonwealth which
 will resist as incongruous
 with the local interests of the
 Commonwealth, and with
 its ~~own~~ capacities of self govern-
 ment and its powers of self pro-
 tection, the paramount legis-
 lative authority of the Im-
 perial Parliament and the
 power of the Crown to disallow
 any legislation of the Parliament
 of the Commonwealth and any
 amendment of the Constitution
 of the Commonwealth which ~~has~~
 has received the ratification
 of the votes of a majority of the

electors of the Commonwealth.
A prudent disuse of the royal
power of veto upon the legislation
of the Commonwealth and
an equally prudent con-
sultation of Australian
opinion and sentiment
in regard to all proposed legis-
lation by the Imperial Parlia-
ment which will affect the
Commonwealth may prolong
the connection of the Common-
wealth with the Empire for
a long period. But the time
will inevitably come when
Australian sentiment will
demand the abolition of the
subordination of the Parliament
of the Commonwealth to the
royal power of veto upon its
legislation and to the paramount
legislative power of an
external sovereignty; and

the abolition of that subordination will proclaim the advent of an Australian sovereignty and full and complete Australian nationality. Only a superficial and inaccurate acquaintance with the history of the British colonies in America can ascribe the foundations of the political independence and separate sovereignty of the Anglo American Republic to the stamp duty and the tea tax which drove the thirteen original States into an armed revolution against the attempt of the Mother Country to arrest their natural evolution into a nation. It has been well said by Professor Woodburn in the closing observations of his Essay on the Causes of the American Revolution (p. 57),

"When we attempt to estimate the unseen and silent forces in national and religious character which have contributed to the American Revolution, we find ourselves dealing with numerous social energies too general, subtle and pervasive to be adequately measured. But no intelligent reader will forget that an upheaval so general and spontaneous, and seemingly so inevitable, is not to be explained by so simple and isolated a fact as the imposition of a tax. That would be like accounting for the tremendous revolution of France, as an able writer has done, by the fact of a deficit in her treasury. The destiny of nations is not changed by isolated facts. Rather the

great movements of history have been the result of moral and spiritual forces which, gathering for centuries, have needed only favourable circumstances for the manifestation of their power." The thirteen British colonies on the American continent which proclaimed their independence in 1776 had a little more than two and a half centuries of local history behind them. The six States of the Australian Commonwealth have only half that period of local history behind them. But whether in any particular case the period within which the process shall be consummated may be longer or shorter than that in which it was accomplished in any

other case, the growth in population, power and national sentiment of any separately organised community which is located in a definite and compact territory which it is able to defend against invasion and dismemberment, will inevitably culminate in an ~~assumption~~ assumption of sovereignty in every case in which the political ~~capable~~ capability and previous career of the community have fitted it for independence, and its geographical position is favourable to its existence as a separate nation. X

~~It has already been observed~~ that the forces which produce separate sovereignties in separate consanguineous and homolingual communities are distinguishable under the separate descriptions of

geographical, historical and political. * Geographic unity of territory is a primary and indispensable condition and factor in the evolution of a distinct nation; and the necessary geographic unity is found wherever a sufficiently extensive and continuous territory is clearly separated from all other territories by such natural barriers as wide stretches of sea or high mountain ranges or wide and lengthy rivers. Such a territory may ^{in some cases} have been originally divided between several consanguineous and homolingual communities which have subsequently become united by historical and political forces. But in all such cases the close ^{geographical} con-
~~tinuity~~ tiguity of the communities.

has produced an intercourse and an intermigration which have inevitably increased with their growth in population and in industrial and commercial activity, and which have gradually prepared the necessary conditions for a political union. That intercourse and intermigration may have frequently been mingled with periodic conflicts and reciprocal invasions and partial conquests of adjacent territory which in their turn produce political intercourse in the ~~form~~ various forms of treaties of peace, and dynastic marriages and alliances. In this manner the medieval Kingdoms of France and Spain were built up and consolidated out of contiguous and consanguineous and homologous

communities in the occupation of contiguous territories; and a particular example of ~~the~~ ~~force of the~~ operation of historical and political forces in the union of two such communities, ~~is found in~~ under one supreme legislative authority is found in the case of ~~Engl~~ the union of England and Scotland in 1709. But when two consanguineous and homolingual communities are separated by such stretches of ocean and intervening continents of land as separate Australia from Great Britain and Ireland, their social and their commercial intercourse ~~is unable~~ ~~to~~ cannot prepare the conditions of such a political union as will blend the two communities into ~~a single~~ a single

community with identity of industrial and commercial interests and with equal participation by the members of each component community in the possession and exercise of ~~the~~ sovereignty. The geographical factor and the social and political forces which are operating in a contrary direction in each of them are too powerful and too continuous to be overcome by the social and commercial ~~intercourse between them~~.

X If the geographical influences and the social and political forces which are working in the Commonwealth of Australia, and in the Dominion of Canada, and in the British possessions in South Africa, to create separate nations could be overcome by any conceivable political

machinery which would unite
 them ^{and the Mother Country} in a political unity under
 which they would become equal
 participants with the Mother
 Country in the possession and
 exercise of the sovereignty of the
 Empire, the same arguments
 which might be used in favour
 of ~~the results of~~ such a proposition
 could be urged with equal force
 in favour of a political union
 of all the communities of the
 world to which such political
 machinery could at any future
 time be successfully applied.
 But the result would be detri-
 mental instead of beneficial
 to human progress. If an
 immense ^{British} ~~British~~ Empire
 extending over half the surface
 of the globe is desirable, the
 World State of Bluntschli
 is equally or more desirable,

but neither of them would ~~not~~
~~defy the ideal conditions of~~
~~human welfare. It has been~~
 produce the highest possible
 conditions of human welfare.
 It has been well said by Professor
 Burgess that "The national state
 is the most modern product of
 political history, political science
 and practical politics. It comes
 nearer to solving all the problems
 of political organisation than
 any other system as yet de-
 veloped. In the first place, it
 rescues the world from the
 motomy of universal empire.
 This is an indispensable con-
 dition of human progress.
 We advance politically, as
 well as individually, by
 contact, competition and
 antagonism. The universal
 empire suppresses all this in

its universal reign of peace,
which means in the long run
stagnation and despotism.

At the same time, the nation
solves the problem of the
relation between states by
the evolution of the system
of international law. Through
this it preserves most of the
advantages of the universal
empire while discarding
its one-sided and intolerant
character". (Political Science
and Constitutional Law.
Vol 1 p. 38.)

The advocates of that
nebulous conception of the
future relations of Great
Britain and her dependencies
which they describe as im-
perial federation may con-
tinue to refer regretfully
to the separation of the

United States of America from
 Great Britain, but a strong
 preconception in favour of a
 particular period in the past
 history of the world could
 find plausible reasons to regret
 the dismemberment of the
 empire of Charlemagne and
 the evolution of the separate
 nations which subsequently
 occupied the territories which
 it comprised. When the ad-
 vocates of a perpetual union
~~between~~ among all the com-
 ponent communities of the
 British Empire employ the
 word federation to describe
 the connection which will
 continue the present paramount
 legislative power of the British
 Parliament and the disallowing
 prerogative of the Crown in
 regard to the legislation of all

the subordinate parliaments in the Empire, they make a total misuse of the word "federation" as a recognised term of political nomenclature and thereby unconsciously conceal from themselves the true character of the connection which they contemplate. A federation of all the component communities of the British Empire, in the true meaning of the word, means the abolition of the present legislative power of the British Parliament over such dependencies as Canada and Australia, and the erection of another legislative authority through which such dependencies would share in the possession and exercise of the sovereign power of the Empire. But a political

union of that character would mean the incorporation of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland in an organisation in which its historic institutions would be intensely incongruous and in which the divergent industrial and commercial interests of the several members of the union would create recurring antagonisms tending to disruption, if they were made subject to a common legislative control. If, on the contrary, the British Parliament is to retain its present paramount legislative authority over the whole Empire, then Canada and Australia will remain provincial dependencies of that Empire without participation in the possession and exercise of sovereign power, and without

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any international recognition as nations among nations.

The propagandists of a perpetual connection of Great Britain and her consanguineous and homolingual dependencies assert that all the necessary foundations of a political unity are found in their racial origin, their unity of language and the similarity of their political institutions and methods. But these alleged foundations of political unity do not obliterate those differences in geographical position and physical environment which create in widely separated territories, with diverse climates and productions, divergencies in industrial and commercial pursuits and interests and antagonistic immigrational relations with other countries;

and any attempt to regulate all such divergent interests and antagonistic relations in a manner that may seem beneficial to the major part of the Empire must produce periodical ~~and~~ discontent and more or less resistance in particular portions of it. ~~Of the suggestion of any such attempt by the organs of the~~ Sovereign power of the Empire is repudiated by the advocates of a perpetual union of Great Britain and her dependencies, then the question immediately arises as to what is to be the nature and extent of the powers of the Imperial Parliament in the future. Either it must possess, and exercise, when it pleases, Sovereign and paramount legislative ^{authority} ~~power~~ over the whole

Empire; or it must relinquish such authority to another legislative organ of sovereignty; and in either case the objections to the exercise of such paramount legislative power over matters that affect the internal affairs of such distant dependencies as Canada and Australia are ~~equally valid and serious.~~ X

The Commonwealth of Australia has already had an example of the manner in which ^{the allegation} ~~the~~ ^{may be made} ~~may~~ ~~be alleged~~ that the interests of the whole Empire are affected and their supremacy may be invoked for the purposes of overriding the legal and constitutionally expressed wishes of the majority of the Australian people. There was not a provision of the Bill to constitute the Commonwealth of Australia which had

undergone a more exhaustive discussion in each of the three meetings of the Convention of 1897 and in the previous Convention of 1891 than that which prohibited appeals from ~~the~~ judgments of the High Court of the Commonwealth to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in cases in which an ~~it~~ interpretation of the Constitution of the Commonwealth was involved. Yet when the Bill was under discussion in the Imperial Parliament, the ~~the~~ Secretary of State for the Colonies openly allied himself with the ~~de-~~feated and discontented minority in Australia, and, as it has been graphically and correctly stated by an independent observer, "appealed to its representatives to cable to him the opinions of

public men, of influential representatives of the mercantile community, and a section of the newspapers; and having obtained them, he did not scruple to use them as a set-off against the declared wishes of the responsible ~~not~~ governments of a majority of the colonies." (*Atlantic Monthly* March 1901 p 406.) The Colonial Secretary in his blindness persuaded himself that he was using the solid phalanx of obedient imperialists behind him to maintain the unity of the Empire; but he builded better than he knew, and exhibited to the Australian people a pregnant object lesson illustrating what they may expect in the future from their subordination to the Imperial Parliament.

Another pregnant object lesson of the same character was the disallowance by the Crown, upon the advice of the same Colonial Secretary, of an Act passed by the Parliament of Queensland to prohibit the employment of coloured labour in an industry which was to be subsidised by the State. This instance of imperial interference with Australian legislation and the reasons given by the Colonial Secretary in justification of it, viz., that the Crown could never consent to the exclusion of any of its subjects from any portion of its dominions, demonstrates clearly that the geographical position of the Commonwealth of Australia necessitates the acquisition of an independent

autonomy by the Commonwealth
 for the future protection of its social
 and industrial interests against
 the influx of Asiatics ~~whose~~
~~exclusion from other parts of~~
~~the Empire in regard to whom~~
~~legislative exclusion is not~~
~~equally~~ from other parts of the
 Empire is not equally
 urgent. The increase of facilities
 of intercourse and communication
 among the ~~different~~ inhabitants
 of different portions of the surface
 of the globe, by which it is fre-
 quently alleged that the
 practical difficulties in the
 way of a closer political union
 of Great Britain and her
 dependencies will be removed,
 will make more imperative
 to the Commonwealth of Australia
 the acquisition of an independent
 autonomy for ~~the~~ regulation of

its relations with its Asiatic neighbours; because the diminution of the natural protection provided by geographical distance against Asiatic immigration will make more necessary a political protection against it. The people and Parliament of the Commonwealth have declared emphatically for a White Australia, and if they ^{and their} ~~are~~ successors ^{are} faithful to that declaration the continuance of the Commonwealth as an integral portion of an Empire which contains millions of coloured ~~peoples~~ subjects of diverse races will become every year more impossible.

If the sole purpose and consummation of all social organisation and political activity

were ~~to~~ the satisfaction of the physical appetites and necessities of the human animal, the sentiment of a distinct national individuality might be regarded as a useless excrescence, or, at best, as a temporary and imperfect factor in social evolution. But the perfect ~~efflorescence~~ efflorescence and fruition of all social organization and political activity are found in the various types of human excellence which they have evolved. "The glory that was Greece and the grandeur that was Rome," as they were exhibited in the realm of political activity, are preserved for the world in the record of the lives and deeds of men like Lycurgus, Pericles, Epaminondas, Cincinnatus, Fabius Maximus

and the two ~~Scipios~~. The ^{glory} ~~political~~ and the grandeur of the national life of France are enshrined in the lustre of such names as St. Louis, Chancellor L'Hopital, Coligny, Sully, Richelieu, Mazarin, Barre and Gambetta. The national greatness of England is personified in such builders of it as Edward I, Cecil, Drake, Pym, Cromwell, Dane Somers, Chatham and Gladstone. The fruition of the national life of the Anglo American Republic is found in Washington, ^{Franklin}, the two Adamses, Jefferson, Hamilton, Madison, Livingston, Marshall, Webster, Sumner and Lincoln, and their coworkers in the task of building up their country's fame. It is impossible to conceive of names like these in association with a purely

provincial existence. Only as the sons and servants of a sovereign state and as the directors of its destiny were the careers of such men possible to them. The Dominion of Canada has now a population exceeding in numbers and in accumulated resources that which inhabited the thirteen colonies which declared their separate nationality and independence on the same continent in 1776; and the older provinces of the Dominion have a history under British Sovereignty which exceeds ⁱⁿ ~~the~~ length the history of the separate nationality of the United States; but Canada has not yet given to the world any names associated with such services to their country and humanity as have inscribed the names above

mentioned upon the tablets of national memories. Without demanding from the provincial conditions of Canada such heroic figures as ~~those of~~ Washington and Lincoln, we may legitimately ask why we do not find in Canadian history any record of services like those which were performed for the United States by Hamilton, Marshall, Clay, Livingston and Webster. The answer is that the provincial and subordinate position which Canada has occupied within the British Empire and in the world has made impossible ~~parallel careers and achievements~~ within her boundaries careers and achievements parallel to those of the great men of the Anglo American Republic; and

a like impossibility of such careers and achievements will attend the provincial and subordinate position of the Commonwealth of Australia within the British Empire so long as the Commonwealth continues to occupy it. The greatest name in the political annals of the Dominion of Canada is that of Sir John Macdonald, and he derived his inspiration and found his opportunity in the rising spirit of nationality which animated the people of Canada during his career, and which after the present wave of Imperialistic sentiment has subsided may be confidently expected to reassert itself in greater force and aspire in due time to the complete autonomy for which the growth of the Dominion in

population, wealth and political experience is preparing it.

Sir John Macdonald is usually regarded as a typical colonial imperialist. But he declared emphatically that "Imperial Federation is utterly impracticable"; and in one of his significant speeches on the Canadian Tariff he said, "I am, as far as this question goes, up to the handle a home ruler. We will govern our own country.

We will put on the taxes ourselves. If we choose to misgovern ourselves, we will do so, and we do not desire England, or Ireland or Scotland to tell us we are fools." If the circumstances of Canada had demanded legislative restriction of alien immigration we may be certain that he would have used equally

emphatic language in regard to the question.

The vital root of the personal force and influence of the moulders and directors of the destinies of nations is found in that patriotic emotion which only attains its highest strength and endurance and its greatest clearness and directness of vision when the possessor of it realizes that the sphere within which he acts and his influence extends embraces the totality of the nation's interests and all its international relations. This experience is clearly impossible in a dependent and subordinate community; and a pseudo patriotism that endeavors to embrace a widely extended Empire which includes different races of men and distinctly different civilizations

56. if not antagonistic
and divergent, ~~the~~ industrial
and commercial interests
will be nothing more than
a corroding passion for
aggrandisement and
domination. Such pseudo
patriotism can work only
evil for humanity, and
if there is any substantial
foundation for the hope of a
continual progress in the
welfare of the human race
it must be found in a con-
tinuation of the processes by
which the previous stages in
the evolution of civilization
have been attained. In the
realm of political activity this
process has been the division
of the population of the world
into separate aggregates located
in diverse physical environ-
ments and evolving in association.

with distinct political organisations
 distinct types of human character
 and capacity. Unity of race and
 language will doubtless at all
 times produce preferences in the
 sympathies and intercourse of
 nations; and the sympathy
 and affection of an independent
 Australia would always flow out
 to Great Britain and Ireland and
 to the Anglo American Republic
 in preference to all the other nations
 of the world; and the influences
 of all the human qualities and
 national characteristics which
 have made England great and
 glorious would not be less be-
 neficent for humanity if they
 proceeded from the activities of
 three or four independent nations
 which traced their descent from
 the same original stock.
 Three or four such nations

criticisms for their actions would exert upon the future destiny of the human race a far more powerful and beneficent influence than the dictation of a powerful world wide empire towards which the other nations of the world would be constantly prone to adopt an attitude of jealousy, suspicion and resentment.

If the foregoing observations and deductions are well founded, it is very evident that the ~~wisest statesmanship~~ ~~prudent patriotism~~ in relation such dependencies of the British Empire as Canada and Australia ~~by them~~ on the part of the Imperial Parliament and the Ministers of the Crown in England is to refrain from any attempt in the name of imperial ~~unity~~ interests to obstruct the evolution

of their separate nationalities and
rather to assist in the con-
summation of the glorious work
~~which~~ ^{the} Mother Country has so far
accomplished in the erection of
the foundations of a family of
nations which are destined to
encircle the earth as so many
homes and fortresses of the highest
type of political excellence and
social well being.